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ABSTRACT

This report examines national, state, and metropolitan trends in the desegregation of U.S. public schools, based on federal enrollment statistics. The data indicate that the White majority is declining, and that Hispanic, Asian, American Indian enrollments are growing rapidly. There has been no overall change in Black segregation on a national level since the early 1970s, and other minority increases in urban areas have resulted in additional de facto segregation. An introduction provides a historical overview and summary. The first section discusses underlying demographic trends. The second section describes measures of desegregation. The third section surveys trends in public policy. The fourth section presents general conclusions from the analysis, including basis trends in desegregation. The fifth section reports increasing Black segregation in the South, and describes segregation trends in border states, the Northeast and Midwest, and the West. The sixth section presents Hispanic segregation trends by region, and the seventh section reports on Asian segregation. The eighth section covers trends in metropolitan areas, including overall Black segregation and data for selected Northern metropolitan areas. The ninth section reports on Hispanic segregation in metropolitan areas. It is followed by the report's conclusions. The report includes 23 statistical tables. A list of sources is appended. (AF)

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STATUS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
1968-1986

SEGREGATION, INTEGRATION, AND PUBLIC POLICY: NATIONAL, STATE, AND METROPOLITAN TRENDS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A Report of the Council of Urban Boards of Education
and the
National School Desegregation Research Project
University of Chicago

Gary Orfield
Franklin Monfort
Melissa Aaron

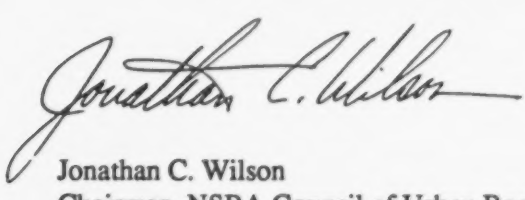
PREFACE

In the 1980s, America experienced demographic and economic changes within our urban cities, as well as their surrounding suburban and metropolitan areas, resulting in changes in the compilation of the student populations in these public schools. These changes are certainly more prevalent in our big city schools. Therefore, many urban cities are currently wrestling with school integration as these communities are becoming increasingly more resegregated. The march to school integration is certainly not over and school systems are finding there are no quick and easy solutions.

Many people think that school desegregation, integration and resegregation is a one minority group problem. However, as this country's Hispanic and Asian populations increase, de facto segregation also increases. This creates other problems when urban school systems with fewer students to integrate are under court-ordered desegregation plans. This is America's problem and one that all of us need to address.

The NSBA Council of Urban Boards, which represents the largest urban school systems across the country, is very concerned about this dilemma. That is why we commissioned Gary Orfield and Franklin Monfort to write the 1988 report, Racial Change and Desegregation in Large School Districts -- Trends Through the 1986-87 School Year. The Council also established a committee of urban school leaders (board members and a superintendent) to address the issues affecting school desegregation, integration and resegregation and report its findings to our constituents and other interested parties.

This committee will monitor these trends and suggest approaches and methods that will increase equal opportunities within urban communities. We knew that this issue still needs to be addressed. Therefore, the Council's School Desegregation Committee asked the authors to continue their research and studies on this major national concern. The result is this second report, The Status of School Desegregation 1968-1986. The report presents the latest available evidence on school segregation trends.



Jonathan C. Wilson
Chairman, NSBA Council of Urban Board of Education
March, 1989

March 1989

INTRODUCTION

In July 1988, the Council of Urban Boards of Education of the National School Boards Association released a report showing the grave difficulty of integrating students within the nation's largest cities. This report indicated that blocking city-suburban desegregation virtually assured continued segregation for millions of black and Hispanic children concentrated in the large cities. It showed, for example, that the twenty-five largest big city districts contain almost three in ten black and Hispanic students in the U.S. but less than one in thirty whites, a mix that, given the Milliken restrictions, prevents effective desegregation in many very important cases. The report found little evidence of large and lasting reductions of black or Hispanic segregation in court-ordered plans limited to central cities with high minority populations. The report found no evidence for the popular proposition that keeping neighborhood schools led to retention of white students. Big cities experienced major white declines even when they had no desegregation plans before the first busing orders in the early 1970s. (Orfield and Monfort, 1988.)

The United States is a nation with a shrinking proportion of white students and a rising share of black and Hispanic students, who experience far less success than whites in American public education and are concentrated in schools with lower achievement levels and less demanding competition. These trends suggest that the Supreme Court's 1954 conclusion that intentionally segregated schools are "inherently unequal" remains true today. It is very important to continuously monitor the extent to which the nation is realizing the promise of equal educational opportunity in schools that are not racially segregated.

This new report examines trends in school segregation for blacks and Hispanics on a much broader scale, presenting the evidence for changes in national, regional, state, and metropolitan area segregation levels from 1968 to 1986, the last available data collected by the federal government. Data tapes were obtained from National Center for Education Statistics and basic measures were computed by Franklin Monfort at the Center for Demography at the University of Wisconsin. State, regional, and national totals were projected from the formulas created for that purpose by the Education Department and its survey contractors. Analysis of the data and interpretation of the results were carried out at the University of Chicago by Gary Orfield and Melissa Aaron.

This report presents the latest available evidence on segregation trends from federal enrollment statistics. It shows that although fierce ideological and legal battles over desegregation are continuing, there has been no real overall change in black segregation on a national level since the peak of the desegregation efforts in the early 1970s. (There have, however, been quite different trends in various regions and states.) Contrary to popular beliefs, the question of busing has not gone away and desegregation of blacks, in those parts of the U.S. where it was achieved, has been stable to a considerable degree. The Reagan Administration's efforts to return to neighborhood schools had very small effects during its first six years.

Hispanics, on the other hand, continue to experience a long-term trend of rapidly increasing segregation from whites. They are much more isolated from whites in public schools than was true a generation ago.

Thirty-five years ago, in 1954, the Supreme Court began the process of desegregating American public education in its landmark decision, Brown v. Board of Education. Eighteen years ago, in 1971, the great national legal and political battle over urban desegregation began with the Supreme Court's decision in the Charlotte, North Carolina busing case, Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, 402 U.S. 1 (1971). Politicians denounced the courts and many cities carried on costly legal appeals but hundreds of busing orders were implemented. During the next three years the Court made further decisions extending some desegregation requirements to the cities of the North, protecting Hispanic as well as black students from illegal segregation, but making it very difficult to obtain orders requiring busing across city-suburban boundary lines. The key decision limiting metropolitan desegregation, Milliken v. Bradley, 418 U.S. 717 (1974), was a drastic limitation on the possibility of substantial and lasting desegregation in the urban North.

THE STATUS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION 1968-1986

Underlying Demographic Trends

The white majority in U.S. public schools is shrinking and Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian enrollments are growing rapidly. This is not because of a shift to private education but because of basic facts of birth rates, age structure, and immigration patterns. U.S. enrollment statistics from fall 1968 to fall 1986 show that the proportion of black students is growing most substantially in the old industrial belt of the North, not in the South; the black proportion in some Northern regions is growing primarily because whites are migrating away and having fewer children. The West now has almost as high a fraction of minority enrollment as the South, primarily because of the surge of Hispanic population. Hispanic enrollment is growing very rapidly and more than three-fifths of Hispanic students are concentrated in California and Texas. High migration and high birthrates among a very young population are basic factors in the Hispanic surge.

There are several states that either now have or soon may have majorities of "minorities" in their total statewide enrollments; eight states and Washington, D.C. had less than 60% white students in 1986. We are becoming a society in which problems of equal education and race relations within schools and other central institutions will be even more critical than they have been in the past. From 1968 to 1986 the number of white students dropped sharply by 16.5%, African-American enrollment rose 5.4%, but enrollments of students from Asian, Indian and Hispanic backgrounds grew rapidly, reflecting large-scale immigration for Asians and Hispanics and higher fertility for Hispanics and Indians. Hispanic enrollment soared 102.9% as the total number of students in U.S. schools fell 6.1% during this eighteen-year period.

Long-term demographic patterns are difficult to predict, but should the trends of the last two decades continue, U.S. education will become a primarily "minority" system in which Hispanics will outnumber blacks. Many states and metropolitan areas will confront predominantly nonwhite public school enrollments. Should the country continue to have seriously segregated and unequal schools for blacks and develop even more intensely segregated and unequal schools for Hispanics, the social and economic impacts may be extremely severe.

Measures of Desegregation

Desegregation can be measured in many ways. The methods employed here were chosen because they are readily understandable, provide information on the kinds of schools students actually attend, and can be compared across the U.S., regions, states, and cities. In this study, desegregation is defined according to the extent of enrollment of minority and white students in the same schools. Segregation is measured by calculating the proportion of black or Hispanic students in a given area that are in schools where the student population is less than half white or more than nine-tenths minority. A different type of measure, the exposure index, shows the proportion of students of other racial and ethnic groups that are in the schools attended by typical black or Hispanic students. These indexes measure actual desegregation at the school level; this study does not show how hard districts, states or regions work to accomplish whatever desegregation might be possible within their district, only the extent to which they have achieved it.

There are a number of other possible measures. For example, many studies, including our 1988 study of the largest school districts, employ the Taeuber dissimilarity index, a measure of the randomness of enrollment distribution by race within the area under analysis. This measure is not used here because it does not show that level of segregation that actually affects students and the necessary data to

compute was not available for the metropolitan areas. A study for the Atlanta Constitution looked at extreme segregation (99-100%) and found sharp increases taking place in the early 1980s. A variety of other measures have been proposed. There is also a serious question about whether or not it is appropriate to include the growing Asian population as part of the "minority" population or whether it would not be more appropriate to compare the situation of "advantaged" groups of students (including Asians and whites, who are a minority already in some regions) with that of the "disadvantaged minorities," including blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans. As the Asian share of the enrollment continues to grow and the white fraction to shrink, new measures should be devised, particularly in the multi-racial settings of the West Coast.

Policy Trends

Four of the five Administrations since 1968 have been openly hostile to urban desegregation orders, and the Carter Administration (the single exception) took few initiatives. There have been no important positive policy proposals supporting desegregation from any branch of government since passage of the Emergency School Aid Act desegregation assistance program in 1972 (repealed in 1981). Civil rights advocates had to devote most of their energy to preventing a rollback of what had already been achieved. In spite of many large battles in the courts and elsewhere over the segregation of black students, the regional and national statistics are virtually unchanged.

The Justice Department, which sued scores of major school districts for comprehensive desegregation plans under previous administrations, devoted its energy in the 1980s primarily to limiting or ending existing plans and resisting new mandatory orders. The policy of the Reagan Administration was that the large mandatory orders which produced the surge in southern integration in the 1965-72 period were wrong, that mandatory busing should be ended, and that the courts should drop older orders and let the school officials return to neighborhood schools even if they were segregated. The Justice Department went to the Supreme Court to unsuccessfully argue that the state of Washington should be able to dissolve Seattle's desegregation plan, it dropped a major city-suburban integration case in metropolitan Houston and it asked the courts to end supervision of desegregation in more than a hundred southern districts. Justice Department officials encouraged districts to dismantle their plans, with department leaders constantly asserting that the plans had failed. This kind of dramatic, high visibility leadership was naturally expected to have consequences. Many assumed that it meant that the era of busing and court-ordered desegregation was over. This data discloses no substantial changes in the trends under way before Reagan took office.

Although the overall national statistics make it appear that nothing much has happened since 1972, there has been some regression in some areas and further desegregation in others, trends which have roughly balanced each other. The rapid decline in white enrollment since the 1960s and the increase in blacks mean that the demographic trends were moving toward less black contact with whites, but this trend was apparently countered by efforts that produced a slight positive movement toward more desegregation, in spite of political attacks.

General Conclusions from the Analysis

The broadest finding of this report is that the transition from the Carter Administration to the Reagan Administration, which brought an exceptionally sharp and rapid change in school desegregation policy in the Justice Department and the Education Department, had very little effect on the segregation trends for minority students during the first six years of Reagan's presidency. The data in this study indicates that, with few exceptions, the courts ignored the Administration's efforts to dismantle desegre-

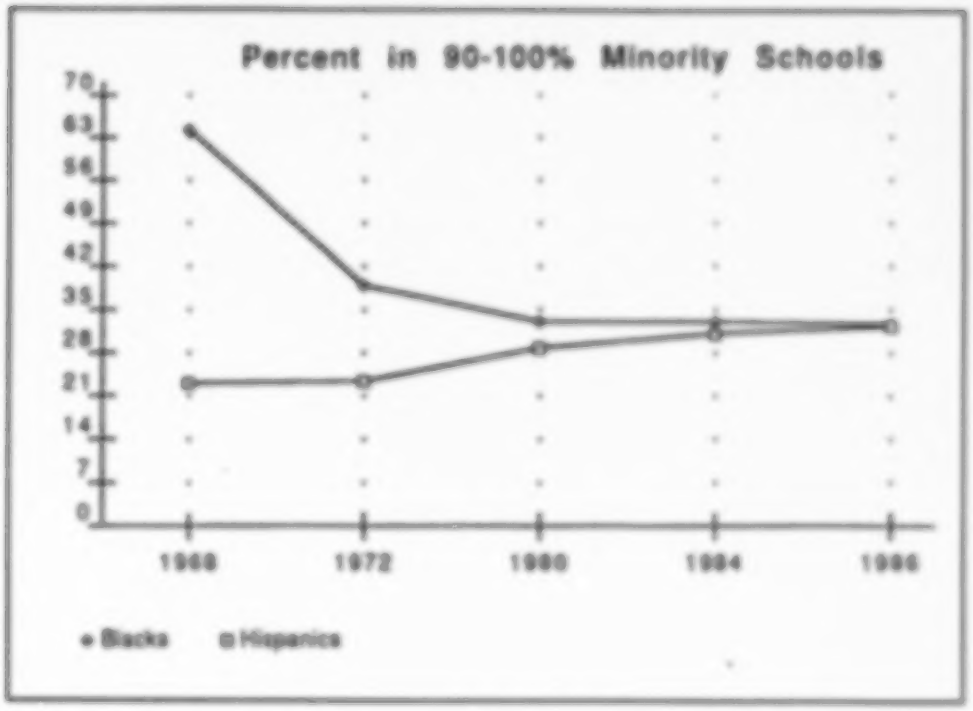
gation plans during this period. In fact, the Supreme Court left the law of school desegregation substantially unchanged throughout the entire eight years of the Reagan presidency.

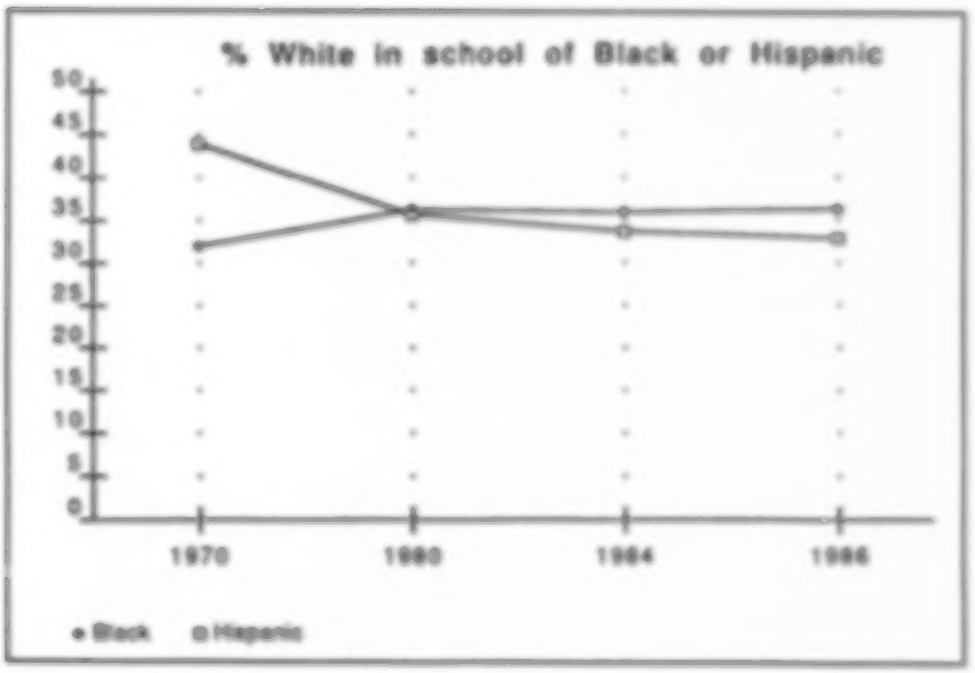
This does not mean that there were not potentially serious changes set in motion in the lower courts, both by the Justice Department's campaign of litigation and by the Administration's appointments of strongly conservative judges to the courts. These may have dramatic long-term effects but they were not apparent by 1986. There is, of course, a long delay in new policies working their way through the federal court system. Some impacts may still be shaped by the appointments and policies of the Bush Administration.

TABLE 1

NATIONAL LEVELS OF SEGREGATION FOR
BLACKS AND HISPANICS
ACCORDING TO THREE MEASURES, 1968-86

	Black Students	Hispanic Students
Percent in Predominantly Minority Schools		
1968	76.6	54.8
1972	63.6	56.6
1980	63.5	70.6
1984	63.5	70.6
1986	63.3	71.5
Change		
1968-1986	-13.3	+16.7
Percent in Intensely Segregated Schools		
1968	64.3	23.1
1972	38.7	23.3
1980	33.2	28.8
1984	33.2	31.0
1986	32.5	32.2
Change		
1968-1986	-31.8	+9.1
Percent of White in the School of the Typical Black and Hispanic		
1970	32.0	43.8
1980	36.2	35.5
1984	35.8	33.7
1986	36.0	32.9
Change		
1970-1986	+4.0	-10.9


Percent in 90-100% Minority Schools
70
63
56
49
42
35
28
21
14
7
0
1968
1972
1980
1984
1986
Blacks
Hispanics


% White in school of Black or Hispanic
50
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1970
1980
1984
1986
Black
Hispanic

Basic Trends. The national statistics show a continuation of long-term trends for both blacks and Hispanics and no significant nation-wide effects of any policies adopted since the Supreme Court's 1974 decision against metropolitan school desegregation plans. There is a basic stability in the situation of blacks at the national level that has now lasted almost two decades and a continuing steady increase in isolation for Hispanics. Underlying those general patterns, however, are important regional, state, and local variations.

The most consequential regional trend is one toward increased segregation of both blacks and Hispanics in the region where they are most heavily concentrated--blacks in the South and Hispanics in the West.

In fall 1972, 63.6% of black students were in schools with less than half white enrollment; sixteen years later it is 63.3%. By this measure segregation was virtually unchanged in the 1980s, and in the most recent two years of data, 1984 to 1986, black segregation actually fell slightly by this measure.

A second measure of segregation, looking at students experiencing intense isolation, in schools with less than one-tenth whites, shows that the proportion of black students in such schools fell very dramatically, under the spur of the busing decisions, from 64% in 1968 to 39% in 1972. The 1980 data showed that the percent of blacks in such intensely segregated schools had declined again to 33.2%. During the first six years of the Reagan Administration intense segregation fell again slightly, to 32.5%.

There were modest positive changes in what had been the most segregated regions for blacks during the past generation, the Northeast and the Midwest, which became slightly more integrated on some of the measures of segregation. After a long period in which they were more integrated than some of the largest northern states, some parts of the Deep South returned to the list of most segregated states.

These changes were not large enough to alter the basic pattern established in the 1970s but they do point to the need for careful monitoring of trends toward resegregation in parts of the South. Southern communities need particularly close monitoring because many of the old desegregation plans face questions about partial dismantling or updating needed to make sense in communities where both black and white areas have rapidly grown without changes in the desegregation order.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK STUDENTS IN
PREDOMINANTLY MINORITY SCHOOLS, BY REGION
1980-1986

Region	1980	1984	1986	80-86 Change
South	57.1	56.9	58.0	+0.9
Border	59.2	62.5	59.3	+0.1
Northeast	79.9	73.1	72.8	-7.1
Midwest	69.5	70.7	69.8	+0.3
West	66.8	66.9	68.2	+1.4
U.S. TOTAL	62.9	63.5	63.3	+0.4

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK STUDENTS IN
90-100% MINORITY SCHOOLS,
BY REGION, 1980-1986

Region	1980	1984	1986	80-86 Change
South	23.0	24.2	25.1	+2.1
Border	37.0	37.4	35.6	-1.4
Northeast	48.7	47.4	49.8	+1.1
Midwest	43.6	43.6	38.5	-5.1
West	33.7	29.4	28.3	-5.4
U.S. TOTAL	33.2	33.2	32.5	-0.7

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF WHITE STUDENTS IN
SCHOOL ATTENDED BY TYPICAL BLACK STUDENT
BY REGION, 1980-1986

Region	1980	1984	1986	80-86 Change
South	41.2	41.0	39.8	-1.4
Border	37.7	35.6	37.2	-0.5
Northeast	27.8	27.7	27.9	+0.1
Midwest	30.6	30.0	32.0	+1.4
West	34.3	35.1	35.5	+1.2
U.S. TOTAL	36.2	35.8	36.0	-0.2

The situation is very different for Hispanics than for blacks because Hispanics have been becoming steadily more isolated in virtually all parts of the country throughout the eighteen years in which national data has been collected. The growth of Hispanic segregation since the late 1960s occurred under both Republican and Democratic administrations. In the 1980s it has grown most rapidly in the West and the Midwest (see tables 5-7). This is probably because there has been no major governmental or civil rights group effort to desegregate Hispanics, whose numbers have mushroomed, particularly in parts of some large metropolitan areas. Growing numbers, residential segregation, and white enrollment declines in central cities where Hispanics are disproportionately concentrated mean more and more segregation in schools.

Hispanic segregation has always been worst among the substantially Puerto Rican population of the Northeast. Isolation has been increasing most rapidly in the West, where most Mexican Americans live, and in the Midwest, where there is a large, diverse Hispanic settlement in the greater Chicago area.

Exposure index data in table 7 shows the change in the percent of white students in the school of the typical black or Hispanic student from 1968 to 1986. During this sixteen-year period there has been a modest increase in contact with whites for black students but a very significant drop for Hispanics, particularly in the 1980s. Hispanics are more segregated in schools according to this measure than blacks.

TABLE 5

HISPANIC ENROLLMENT IN PREDOMINANTLY MINORITY SCHOOLS, BY REGION, 1980-1986

Region	1980	1984	1986	80-86 Change	Change 84-86
South	76.0	75.4	75.2	-0.8	-0.2
Border	*	*	29.9	*	*
Northeast	76.3	77.5	78.2	+1.9	+0.7
Midwest	46.6	53.9	54.3	+7.7	+0.4
West	63.5	68.4	69.9	+6.4	+1.5
U.S. TOTAL	68.1	70.6	71.5	+3.4	+0.9

TABLE 6

HISPANIC ENROLLMENT IN 90-100% MINORITY SCHOOLS, BY REGION, 1980-1986

Region	1968	1980	1984	1986	Change 84-86
South	33.7	37.3	37.3	38.6	+1.3
Northeast	44.0	45.8	47.1	46.4	+0.6
Midwest	6.8	19.6	24.2	23.5	+3.9
West	11.7	18.5	22.9	24.7	+6.2
U.S. TOTAL	23.1	28.8	31.0	32.2	+3.4

TABLE 7

PERCENT OF WHITE STUDENTS IN SCHOOL ATTENDED BY TYPICAL HISPANIC STUDENT, 1970-1986

Region	1970	1980	1984	1986	70-86 Change	80-86 Change	84-86 Change
South	33.4	29.5	29.5	28.7	-4.7	-0.8	-0.8
Border	83.1	66.4	63.5	60.3	-22.8	-6.1	-3.2
Northeast	28.7	27.0	25.8	26.3	-2.4	-0.7	+0.5
Midwest	68.0	51.9	47.5	46.7	-21.3	-5.2	-0.8
West	56.4	39.8	36.6	35.6	-20.8	-4.2	-1.0
U.S. TOTAL	45.6	35.5	33.7	32.9	-12.7	-2.6	-0.8

The law still requires desegregation. There have been no important changes in legal principles during the Reagan era and public support for desegregation has actually increased modestly. Although most Americans do not support busing, the opposition has declined significantly. A substantial majority of Americans below thirty have expressed support for busing in recent surveys by the Harris Survey and the American Council of Education's annual survey of college freshmen, and a large majority of those whose children are bused approve of the policy according to the Harris Survey. Since desegregation is still mandated, and may actually be becoming more acceptable to the public, it is important to compare the effectiveness of various approaches. The data on states and metropolitan areas in this report provides some basic information on consequences of very different kinds of plans. Examining the states and metropolitan areas with the highest level of integration in 1986-87, it is apparent that the greatest progress had occurred in areas with the most far-reaching mandatory desegregation plans, city-suburban plans of the sort the Supreme Court turned away from in its 1974 Detroit case.

Comparing major metropolitan areas in the southern and border state areas, the data shows that different forms of school desegregation plans make drastic and long-lasting differences in desegregation levels. The five most integrated metropolitan areas all have had mandatory city-suburban busing plans between 10 and 17 years (see table 19). Three of those areas had county-wide school districts incorporating both city and suburban communities within one massive school system at the time the court ordered desegregation in 1971 or 1972. Two others had separate city and suburban schools and were ordered to merge them and implement massive two-way busing, beginning in 1975 in metropolitan Louisville and 1978 in metropolitan Wilmington. The plans aimed to make all the schools reflect the substantial white majority in the overall metropolitan enrollment. At the time these were among the most fiercely resisted and bitterly attacked of all desegregation plans--known by their critics as "massive forced cross-district busing for purposes of racial balancing." Now, a generation later, it is apparent that no limited plan has been so successful in producing and maintaining desegregation on a metropolitan scale as the mandatory city-suburban busing orders.

Various metropolitan areas followed such radically different desegregation strategies a generation ago that it is now possible to compare long-term effects with considerable confidence, comparing the current results in areas with sweeping busing plans with those in metropolitan areas with limited or no desegregation plans during the same period.

There are striking differences among areas with different types of plans. Similar findings about the greater desegregation achieved and the success in holding white enrollment over time in the southern county-wide desegregation plans was noted in the 1987 U.S. Civil Rights Commission study, New Evidence on Desegregation.

Increasing Segregation for Blacks in the South

During the 1980-1986 period the only region to experience an increase in segregation of black students on all three measures used in this study was the South, which has long been the most integrated region in the country. In spite of the negative trend, however, during the 1986-87 school year, the South remained the most integrated region on all three measures though its schools have by far the largest proportion of black students.

The pattern of change in the South in the 1980s, however, is one of generally gradual movement backward, with more rapid declines focused in a few areas. During the six-year period, the percent of black students in the South in majority white schools dropped a modest .9%, the percent in intensely segregated schools with less than one-tenth whites rose 2.1% and the percent of white students in the school attended by the typical black student dropped 1.4%. These were relatively small changes but, it is important to note, most of the change took place during the 1984-86 period. Should the changes during those two years continue into the coming years there could be a serious erosion of the South's achievement in building integrated education during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Within the South there were larger declines in integration in some locations. Most notable is the significant decline in integration in the state of Alabama. Integration declined during the first four years of the 1980s and the decline accelerated between 1984 and 1986. The percent of the state's black students attending schools with white majorities, which had increased very dramatically in the 1970s, fell by 8%, with most of the decline from 1984-86. The proportion of students in highly segregated schools rose by 9.3% in the eighties with nearly three-fourths of the change in the last two years studied. The percent of white enrollment in the school of the typical black student fell substantially, almost to the level of 1970, before the implementation of the large urban busing orders.

Alabama has one of the highest percentages of black students (37%) but is more segregated than three states with even higher proportions; Georgia, South Carolina, and Louisiana (Table 9). The metropolitan Birmingham area is doubtless a major part of the problem. This area was one of the most segregated in the Southern and Border states in 1986, having more than lost the gains in integration achieved in the 1970s. Most of the backward movement took place between 1984 and 1986. The typical black student in metropolitan Birmingham was in a school with more than 79% minority students, a level of segregation nearly as high as that in the most segregated large cities in the North. Only one-twentieth of the black students in Birmingham were in majority white schools and 75% were in intensely segregated schools. Birmingham had a magnet school program but was considering disbanding it in early 1989.

Alabama public education may well become more segregated if the higher courts sustain a recent district court decision in Mobile permitting local school officials to end busing in one of the South's largest long-standing metropolitan-wide desegregation plans. The Mobile district served 68,000 students in 1986-87, including about one-eighth of Alabama's black students and has held white enrollment better than the great majority of large school districts. Compared to Birmingham, the Mobile district had more than three times the percentage of whites in the school of the typical black student. Resegregation of Mobile and other Alabama districts under long-time court orders could bring another large increase in black segregation in the state.

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS
MORE THAN 50% WHITE, BY STATE,
BY DECLINING ENROLLMENT, 1986 FIGURES

State	Black Enrollment 1980	Black Enrollment 1986(%)	Percentage of Black Students in Predominantly White Schools 1968	1980	1986	Percentage Point Change 1968-1986
New York	484,286	518,014(16.5)	32.31	23.26	19.2	-13.11
Texas	408,747	480,250(14.4)	25.25	36.01	36.7	+11.45
California	400,657	453,780(9.0)	22.49	24.67	23.4	+0.91
Georgia	359,888	451,541(37.9)	14.03	39.89	40.7	+26.67
Florida	348,768	373,143(23.7)	23.21	60.35	54.9	+31.69
Louisiana	322,985	324,414(41.3)	8.89	34.21	38.4	+29.51
Michigan	314,204	321,642(19.8)	20.60	18.14	23.3	+2.7
Illinois	403,061	320,326(18.7)	13.62	20.55	16.8	+3.18
North Carolina	329,724	301,456(28.9)	28.31	64.04	62.5	+34.19
Mississippi	228,251	299,387(55.5)	6.71	23.56	19.7	+12.99
Alabama	249,734	279,845(37.0)	8.29	44.28	36.2	+27.91
South Carolina	262,110	249,363(44.5)	14.19	40.12	40.0	+25.81
Ohio	249,485	240,095(15.0)	27.74	41.14	32.4	+4.66
Virginia	257,657	235,879(23.7)	26.90	42.27	50.5	+23.6
New Jersey	226,814	214,760(17.4)	33.88	23.29	27.2	-6.68
Maryland	231,590	214,239(35.3)	31.11	32.78	27.7	-3.41
Pennsylvania	231,331	199,177(12.6)	27.52	29.27	37.9	+10.38
Tennessee	204,014	168,498(22.6)	21.25	36.73	40.3	+19.05
Missouri	113,357	134,059(14.9)	24.56	36.35	39.0	+14.44
Arkansas	92,227	113,713(24.2)	22.61	42.17	46.2	+23.59
Indiana	102,317	103,186(9.0)	29.98	38.14	53.2	+23.22
Washington, D.C.	97,962	78,446(91.1)	0.90	0.91	0.1	-0.8
Kentucky	59,611	64,442(10.2)	53.72	91.12	93.4	+39.68
Wisconsin	50,740	60,066(8.9)	22.54	46.54	29.6	+7.06
Connecticut	53,943	59,508(12.1)	43.32	42.06	39.8	-3.52
Massachusetts	56,675	56,323(7.4)	51.24	43.99	41.5	-9.74
Oklahoma	48,173	50,460(7.8)	37.81	65.71	59.2	+21.39
Kansas	29,159	35,030(7.6)	53.44	70.96	68.0	+14.56
Washington	25,989	32,942(4.2)	64.23	76.38	70.4	+6.17
Colorado	25,203	28,010(4.5)	30.52	53.05	55.1	+24.58
Delaware	24,900	24,056(27.7)	54.23	95.14	91.1	+36.87
Nevada	*	15,343(9.6)	*	*	80.0	*
Rhode Island	6,642	8,184(5.6)	89.42	77.10	54.4	-35.02

*not available
Source: U.S. Department of Education data

TABLE 9

STATES WITH LARGEST BLACK ENROLLMENT AND
HIGHEST LEVELS OF SEGREGATION OF BLACK STUDENTS
ACCORDING TO THREE MEASURES, 1986

Rank	Black Percentage of Total Enrollment	Percentage of Black Students in Predominantly Minority Schools	Percentage of Black Students in 90-100% Minority Schools	Percentage of White Students in School of Typical Black Student*
1	Mississippi(55.5)	Illinois (83.2)	Illinois (62.5)	Illinois (18.8)
2	South Carolina (44.5)	New York (80.8)	New York (57.8)	New York (20.0)
3	Louisiana (41.3)	Mississippi (80.3)	New Jersey (51.5)	Mississippi (25.1)
4	Georgia (37.9)	Michigan (76.7)	Pennsylvania (46.6)	Michigan (25.2)
5	Alabama (37.0)	California (76.6)	Michigan (46.2)	New Jersey (27.6)
6	Maryland (35.3)	New Jersey (72.8)	Mississippi (45.2)	California (29.5)
7	North Carolina (28.9)	Maryland (72.3)	Alabama (41.2)	Maryland (29.9)
8	Delaware (27.7)	Wisconsin (70.4)	Maryland (37.2)	Alabama (33.3)
9	Arkansas (24.2)	Ohio (67.6)	California (34.7)	Pennsylvania (33.4)
10	Virginia (23.7)	Alabama (63.8)	Tennessee (34.7)	Louisiana (36.2)

*Lowest percentage represents greatest segregation; thus states in this column are ranked in order of increasing percentage. That is, Illinois has the smallest percentage of white students in the school of a typical black.

Source: U.S. Department of Education data

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF WHITE STUDENTS IN THE SCHOOL OF A TYPICAL BLACK STUDENT, BY STATE, IN STATES WITH AT LEAST 5% BLACK STUDENTS

	1986 Percentage Black Enrollment	Percent of White Students in the School a Typical Black Student 1970	1980	1986	Percentage Point Change 1970-1986
Washington, D.C.	91.1	2.2	1.5	1.9	-0.3
Mississippi	55.5	29.6	29.2	25.1	-4.5
South Carolina	44.5	41.2	42.7	40.2	-1.0
Louisiana	41.3	30.8	32.8	36.2	+5.4
Georgia	37.9	35.1	38.3	37.6	+2.5
Alabama	37.0	32.7	39.7	33.3	+0.6
Maryland	35.3	30.3	35.4	29.9	-0.4
North Carolina	28.9	49.0	54.0	54.5	+5.5
Delaware	27.7	46.5	68.5	66.1	+19.6
Arkansas	24.2	42.5	46.5	46.6	+4.1
Virginia	23.7	41.5	47.4	49.3	+7.8
Florida	23.7	43.2	50.6	47.2	+4.0
Tennessee	22.6	29.2	38.0	38.7	+9.5
Michigan	19.8	21.9	22.5	25.2	+3.3
Illinois	18.7	14.6	19.0	18.8	+4.2
New Jersey	17.4	32.4	26.4	27.6	-4.8
New York	16.5	29.2	23.0	22.0	-7.2
Ohio	15.0	28.4	43.2	39.0	+10.6
Missouri	14.9	21.4	34.1	38.3	+16.9
Texas	14.4	30.7	35.2	36.4	+5.7
Pennsylvania	12.6	27.8	29.3	33.4	+5.6
Connecticut	12.1	44.1	40.3	37.5	-6.6
Kentucky	10.2	49.4	74.3	72.6	+23.2
Nevada	9.6	55.7	68.4	65.7	+10.0
Indiana	9.0	31.1	38.7	47.0	+15.9
California	9.0	25.6	27.7	29.5	+3.9
Wisconsin	8.9	25.7	44.5	41.0	+15.3
Oklahoma	7.8	42.1	57.6	51.4	+9.3
Kansas	7.6	51.6	59.1	58.7	+7.1
Massachusetts	7.4	47.5	50.4	46.3	-1.2
Rhode Island	5.6	*	65.8	57.6	*

*not available

Source: U.S. Department of Education data

TABLE 11

CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE OF BLACK STUDENTS ATTENDING MAJORITY WHITE SCHOOLS, BORDER AND SOUTHERN STATES, 1968-86

State	Change in % of State's Black Students in Predominantly White Schools 1968-1986	% of Black Students in Predominantly White Schools 1968	1980	1986
Kentucky	39.68	53.72	91.1	93.4
Delaware	36.87	54.23	95.1	91.1
North Carolina	34.19	28.31	64.0	62.5
Florida	31.69	23.21	60.3	54.9
Louisiana	29.51	8.89	34.2	38.4
Alabama	27.91	8.29	44.3	36.2
South Carolina	25.81	14.19	40.1	40.0
Virginia	23.6	26.90	42.3	50.5
Arkansas	23.59	22.61	42.2	46.2
Georgia	26.67	14.03	39.9	40.7
Oklahoma	21.39	37.81	65.7	59.2
Tennessee	19.05	21.25	36.7	40.3
Missouri	14.44	24.56	36.4	39.0
Mississippi	12.99	6.71	23.6	19.7
Texas	11.45	25.25	36.0	36.7
West Virginia	10.77	82.03	94.5	92.8
Washington, D.C.	-0.4	0.90	0.9	0.5
Maryland	-3.41	31.11	32.8	27.7
Total South		*	42.9	42.0
Total Border		*	40.8	40.7

*not available
Source: U.S. Department of Education data

The other Southern state to move into the list of most segregated states in the mid-1980s was Mississippi, the state with the nation's highest proportion of black students. During the 1980s Mississippi had a clear decline on all three measures of school integration. The percentage of black students in schools with nonwhite majorities rose 7% and 45% of blacks attended intensely segregated schools. The typical black student was in a school that was only one-fourth white. On two of the three measures

of segregation, Mississippi ranked third in the U.S., by far the highest rating for a southern state in the 1980s (Table 9).

The statistics from Florida provide a good example of the gradual increase in segregation that is developing in the South. In Florida the very extensive county-wide busing plans implemented in most of the state in 1971 made the state one of the most integrated states with a substantial black population in the U.S. Florida in 1986 remains highly integrated compared to most large states, all the measures show an increase in segregation in the 1980s. The fraction of blacks attending predominantly white schools had declined more than 5% (Table 8). Although metropolitan Tampa remains among the most integrated regions in the South, a generation after its desegregation plan, for example, the proportion of whites in the school of the typical black student fell 5%; in West Palm Beach County the decline was faster, 7%. Metropolitan Miami was always highly segregated and the isolation of black students became slightly worse in the 1980s (Table 16). The basic pattern in Florida is one of gradual decline. This is probably related to the failure of the school districts to update their plans to take into account the rapid expansion of both black and white residential areas in booming housing markets. In rapidly changing areas unchanged desegregation plans will produce increased segregation over time.

State Changes in the Border States. The overall levels of segregation have changed little in the Border states, the six states between the old South and the North which were not part of the Confederacy but did have state laws mandating segregation in the 1950s. There were, however, notable changes in both directions in individual states, some of them apparently related to new policies. There was a significant increase in segregation of black students in Oklahoma, where the state's largest city, Oklahoma City, dismantled part of its busing plan. Statewide there was a significant increase, almost 6%, of black students in intensely segregated schools, all of which occurred between 1984 and 1986. The typical black student was in a school with 6% fewer whites than in 1980 (Table 10). The data for Oklahoma City in the 1980s shows a 10% decline in the exposure of blacks to whites in the schools of the metropolitan area (Table 16). Oklahoma City was one of the few large districts that was permitted to dismantle a successful elementary school desegregation plan in the mid-1980s. The policy change apparently produced increased segregation.

Missouri, which was the site of the development of the largest city-suburban voluntary transfer plan for city black students and suburban white students, saw significant gains in integration on all three measures. The state was one of the nation's ten most segregated on all measures earlier in the decade but was off all of those lists in 1986 (Table 9). All of the positive gains reflected in these figures occurred in the 1984-86 period where data from metropolitan St. Louis shows a sharp increase in exposure of black students to white classmates (Table 17). This data suggests that a St. Louis-type voluntary plan which provides abundant state-financed choices may have real promise as a desegregation strategy.

The Northeast and the Midwest. The heartland of segregation for blacks during the past decade has been in some of the states of the Northeast and the Midwest, now being joined on the list of most segregated by two states from the Deep South. Illinois has remained the most segregated state for blacks throughout the decade, leading on all three measures again in 1986. The changes in Illinois during the decade were modest. One positive change was a significant drop in the proportion of blacks in schools that had less than one-tenth white enrollment during the 1984-86 period. Perhaps this change reflects an increase in black suburbanization. Illinois, however, still remains significantly ahead of its closest competitor, New York, on all measures.

New York had the second worst record in all categories. One favorable sign in New York state was a 4.5% drop in the share of blacks attending intensely segregated schools during the 1980-1986 period. Neighboring New Jersey was among the top six on all measures of black segregation in 1986. New Jersey became even more segregated during the 1980s.

Different policies and practical problems may be related to backward movement by Ohio and Wisconsin in the 1980s and to the progress shown in these statistics for Indiana and Pennsylvania. Ohio and Wisconsin have had longstanding court orders in their largest school districts but those districts were dominated by shrinking white minorities by 1986. In 1986, Cleveland's schools were 25% white, Cincinnati's were 39% white and Milwaukee's were 36% white. Milwaukee had a very limited suburban exchange program (expanded after 1986), but the cities in Ohio had none. Plans limited to largely minority central city districts could not produce and sustain high levels of integration. Largely because of the demographic change in Milwaukee, which has the state's only large black enrollment, the share of Wisconsin blacks in predominantly white schools fell by 17% from 1980-1986. After the data was collected for this report, Milwaukee, the suburban districts, and the state government signed an agreement to extend the voluntary transfer plan and to support a metropolitan-wide fair housing center.

There was a very clear increase in integration of blacks in Indiana during the 1980s. All of this increase took place in the early 1980s, however, during the period that the city-suburban desegregation plan was implemented in Indianapolis, the state's largest metropolitan area. The Indianapolis school district reported in 1986 that 45% of its black students were in majority white schools and almost none were in intensely segregated schools (Orfield and Monfort, 1988).

Pennsylvania was one of the ten most segregated states for black students on all the measures used in the study throughout the 1980-86 period. Pennsylvania, however, improved on all measures in the 1980s, an unusual performance for a large industrial state. These changes may be due to the fact that the state is unique among the largest states in having a strong state government civil rights agency pressing for school desegregation, even in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. Two additional factors may have influenced these changes: a federal court order merging and desegregating a number of Pittsburgh suburban school districts and developing patterns of black suburbanization.

Black Segregation in the West. Much of the West has a relatively low black population and substantially larger populations of Hispanics. In some regions there are more Asians than blacks. Even in California, where there were 454,000 black students in 1986, that was only 9% of the state's total enrollment. Washington state has 4.3% (33,000), Colorado 4.5% (28,000), and Nevada 9.6% (15,000). In California the share of black students in majority white schools declined slightly to 23.4% in 1986. In spite of its small proportion of black students California ranked fifth most segregated in the U.S. in terms of the proportion of black students in predominantly minority schools in 1986 and in the top ten on each of the other measures -- lowest level of exposure of black students to white students and in terms of the level of black students in intensely segregated schools (Table 9). California's largest metropolitan areas were highly segregated. California's level of integration increased slightly on two of the three measures from 1984-86. During the 1980s a partial desegregation plan was dismantled in Los Angeles, a new consent agreement was negotiated in the San Francisco district, and a new "controlled choice" desegregation plan was implemented in San Jose.

Colorado, Washington, and Nevada all had important desegregation plans in their largest urban centers. Las Vegas had a metropolitan desegregation plan covering a vast county-wide school district; Seattle defended its locally designed plan up to the Supreme Court against a Reagan Administration effort to dismantle it; and Denver was the first city outside the South ordered to implement a busing plan, in the 1973 Keyes decision. Nevada remained very highly integrated in 1986, with the typical black student attending a school that was 66% white. Young blacks enrolled in majority white schools accounted for 80% of Nevada's black students, 70% of those in Washington state, and 55% in Colorado (Table 8). The basic problem for both Denver and Seattle was that they had growing non-white majorities and maintaining desegregation within the city boundaries became increasingly difficult. Denver experienced a significant decline in black exposure to whites in school from 1974 to 1986, primarily

because of this broad demographic change. The statistics from the West show that even in areas that have relatively low overall state black populations, their concentration in central cities and the growth of other minorities is producing increased isolation where plans are limited to central cities.

Hispanic Segregation Trends by Regions

Hispanic students are far more concentrated than blacks in just a few states. Two states, California and Texas, account for about three-fifths of all Hispanic students. The other major concentrations are found in the other states of the Southwest, Illinois, New York, New Jersey, and Florida.

GROWTH OF HISPANIC ENROLLMENTS, 1970-1986

	1986 Enrollment	1970 Enrollment	Change #	Change %
California	1,381,100	706,900	674,200	95
Texas	1,086,200	565,700	520,500	92
New York	384,700	316,600	68,100	21
Illinois	157,000	78,100	78,900	101
Arizona	154,700	85,500	69,200	81
Florida	149,500	65,700	83,800	127
New Jersey	132,000	59,100	72,900	123
New Mexico	128,900	109,300	19,600	18

Source: DBS Corporation, 1982; 1987; table originally prepared for Orfield, "Growth and Concentration of Hispanic Enrollment," National Council of La Raza, 1988.

TABLE 12

STATES WITH LARGEST HISPANIC ENROLLMENT, 1986

State	1986 Enrollment	% of 1986 National Total Hispanic Enrollment	1980 Enrollment	% of 1980 National Total Hispanic Enrollment
California	1,381,107	34.0	1,002,188	31.5
Texas	1,086,248	26.7	864,300	27.2
New York	384,660	9.4	325,532	10.2
Illinois	156,953	3.8	117,790	3.7
Arizona	154,722	3.8	116,644	*
Florida	149,542	3.7	117,562	3.7
New Jersey	132,007	3.2	*	*
New Mexico	128,910	3.2	125,779	4.0

*not available
Source: U.S. Department of Education data

In spite of their many differences, Hispanic students in all regions are segregated. Hispanic students come from three major (and many smaller) groups with very different cultural and legal backgrounds--Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban. Each tends to be geographically concentrated and to dominate the Hispanic populations of particular metropolitan areas, states, and regions.

The Hispanics of the Southwest are overwhelmingly Mexican Americans, those of New York and adjacent states, primarily Puerto Rican, and those of Florida, largely Cuban. Illinois, however, has a highly diverse Hispanic population with a majority of Mexican Americans, but the nation's second largest concentration of Puerto Ricans and substantial groups from other countries. During the past decade widespread immigration from Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and other countries in political turmoil has increased the diversity of many of the major centers of Hispanic settlement.

The striking thing is that in spite of the differences among the groups and the differences in their levels of education, income, and political power, Hispanic students face high and increasing levels of segregation in all parts of the U.S. Statistics show that the largest groups of Hispanics, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, are highly disadvantaged relative to whites. Even among Cubans, however, who typically have much higher educational and socio-economic levels than Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, segregation is very high.

All but one of the ten states with the largest shares of Hispanic enrollment appear on the lists of the most segregated states for Hispanic students (Table 13). The only exception, as has been true in earlier reports, was Colorado; the only state with a comprehensive desegregation order for the city of Denver which has a large Hispanic population. The Supreme Court's Denver decision in 1973 established the right of Hispanics to a desegregation remedy in a school case, based on the Court's ruling that the history of discrimination against Hispanics, at least in the Southwest, was much like the history of discrimination against blacks. Thirteen years later, the Denver order still had an effect on the segregation of the 14% of Colorado students who were Hispanic.

New York remains the most segregated state for Hispanics, a position it has held throughout the 1980s. Although only an eighth of the state's students are Hispanic, they are highly segregated from whites, substantially more highly segregated than blacks are from whites in any Southern state. The basic problem was the concentration of the great majority of the state's Puerto Rican students within the New York City school district. Of the more than 320,000 Hispanic students within the school district which has only 22% white students, 68% of Hispanic children attended schools with 0-10% white students. This residential segregation meant that 84% of New York state's Hispanic students were in predominantly minority schools in 1986 and 59% were in intensely segregated schools. During the 1984-86 period, Hispanics in the state became slightly less segregated, perhaps because of suburbanization or the increase of non-Puerto Rican Hispanic children.

In Texas, nearly a third of the students are Hispanic, and the proportion has been rapidly growing. In 1986, Texas displaced Illinois as the second most segregated state for Hispanic students. More than three-fourths (77.7%) of Hispanic students were in schools where most students were nonwhite and 41% were in intensely segregated schools. The state became more segregated during the 1984-86 period. Metropolitan Houston became significantly more segregated during the 1980s.

New Jersey, with a rapidly rising Hispanic enrollment ranked next to Texas in spite of the fact that only one-ninth of the state's enrollment was Latino. Much of the Hispanic enrollment was in the urbanized area of northern New Jersey where many Puerto Ricans lived in the old central cities and few found their way into the booming suburbs.

California, with by far the largest number of Hispanic students, continued a long-term trend of growing segregation on all three measures used in this study. Three-fourths of the students were in schools with less than half whites, 29% in intensely segregated schools and the typical Hispanic child was in a school where the nonwhite enrollment was 68%.

TABLE 13

STATES WITH LARGEST HISPANIC ENROLLMENT AND HIGH LEVELS OF SEGREGATION OF HISPANIC STUDENTS ACCORDING TO THREE MEASURES, IN STATES WITH MORE THAN 5% HISPANIC ENROLLMENT, 1986

Rank	Hispanic Percentage of Total Enrollment	Percentage of Hispanic Students in Predominantly Minority Schools	Percentage of Hispanic Students in 90-100% Minority Schools	Percentage of White Students in School of of Typical Hispanic Student*
1	New Mexico (45.1)	New York (83.8)	New York (58.9)	New York (20.1)
2	Texas (32.5)	New Mexico (78.8)	Texas (40.9)	Texas (26.9)
3	California (27.5)	New Jersey (78.3)	Illinois (36.0)	New Jersey (29.5)
4	Arizona (26.4)	Texas (77.7)	New Jersey (34.8)	Illinois (31.6)
5	Colorado (13.7)	California (74.8)	Pennsylvania (32.8)	California (31.6)
6	New York (12.3)	Illinois (74.4)	Connecticut (30.6)	New Mexico (32.3)
7	New Jersey (10.7)	Connecticut (68.2)	California (29.3)	Connecticut (34.3)
8	Florida (9.5)	Florida (68.2)	Florida (29.2)	Florida (34.4)
9	Illinois (9.2)	Arizona (67.2)	New Mexico (23.8)	Arizona (38.9)
10	Connecticut (8.9)	Pennsylvania (59.1)	Indiana (20.2)	Pennsylvania (40.8)

*Lowest percentage represents greatest segregation; thus states in this column are ranked in order of increasing percentage. That is, New York has the smallest percentage of white students in the school of the typical Hispanic students.

Source: U.S. Department of Education data

Florida, the center of Cuban settlement, saw a high but stable level of segregation in the mid-1980s, a level which left a much more prosperous and more educated Hispanic community in Florida nearly as segregated as Mexican Americans in California. Arizona, in the midst of extremely rapid growth, was another critical state in which both the proportion and the segregation of Hispanic students was growing.

In contrast to earlier reports and to its record as the nation's most segregated state for black students, Illinois showed a slight decline in Hispanic segregation during the 1984-86 period. Although there was an overall increase in segregation of Hispanics in the state in the 1980s, the data for the most recent two years shows small but significant improvements on all measures. There have been no new desegregation policy initiatives during this period so that the increases may well reflect a growing Hispanic population in somewhat less segregated Chicago suburban areas.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE OF HISPANIC STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS MORE THAN 50% WHITE, BY STATE

State	Hispanic Enrollment: 1986	%	% of Hispanic Students in Schools More than 50% White, by State: 1968	1980	1986	Percentage Point Change 1968-1986
California	1,381,107	27.5	61.0	32.1	25.2	-35.8
Texas	1,086,248	32.5	27.6	21.8	22.3	-5.3
New York	384,660	12.3	17.6	17.8	16.2	-1.4
Illinois	156,953	9.2	52.8	34.7	25.6	-27.2
Arizona	154,722	26.4	47.9	37.7	32.8	-15.1
Florida	149,542	9.5	49.9	30.3	31.8	-18.1
New Jersey	132,007	10.7	44.0	23.5	21.7	-22.3
New Mexico	128,910	45.1	26.7	24.7	23.2	-3.5
Colorado	85,306	13.7	63.3	67.1	60.8	-2.5
Massachusetts	45,984	6.0	75.1	50.4	42.5	-32.6
Connecticut	43,828	8.9	48.7	36.3	31.6	-17.1
Washington	29,730	3.8	87.9	60.0	69.0	-18.9
Michigan	29,254	1.8	*	*	70.0	
Pennsylvania	28,411	1.8	*	*	60.9	
Kansas	20,076	4.4	92.5	86.0	81.4	-11.1
Indiana	19,424	1.7	*	*	68.8	
Oregon	19,220	3.9	99.4	98.2	88.9	-10.5
Ohio	16,231	1.0	*	*	56.1	
Wisconsin	13,064	1.9	*	*	53.9	
Nevada	11,998	7.5	99.4	94.1	86.8	-12.6
Oklahoma	10,514	1.6	*	*	63.9	
Idaho	10,181	4.9	99.5	99.8	97.7	-1.8
Maryland	10,085	1.7	*	*	64.3	
Utah	10,019	3.0	98.1	96.9	98.0	+0.9
Nebraska	7,296	2.4	*	*	94.4	
Georgia	6,888	0.6	*	*	64.7	
Missouri	6,560	0.7	*	*	80.4	
Minnesota	6,461	0.9	*	*	97.0	
Louisiana	6,220	0.8	*	*	68.3	
Wyoming	5,713	5.9	78.2	94.9	92.7	+14.5
Rhode Island	5,439	3.7	63.9	69.6	41.8	-22.1
North Carolina	4,409	0.4	*	*	76.4	
Iowa	4,153	0.9	*	*	97.8	
Hawaii	4,020	2.2	*	*	13.9	
Washington, D.C.	3,320	3.9	*	*	2.6	
Delaware	2,157	2.5	*	*	84.9	
Montana	1,674	0.9	*	*	92.9	
Arkansas	1,653	0.4	*	*	87.2	
Alaska	1,638	1.7	*	*	91.8	
Tennessee	1,475	0.2	*	*	92.1	
North Dakota	1,330	1.1	*	*	99.6	
South Carolina	1,182	0.2	*	*	76.5	

Alabama, Kentucky, Maine, Mississippi, New Hampshire, South Dakota, Vermont, and West Virginia each has fewer than 1000 Hispanic students.

*not available
Source: U.S. Department of Education data

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGE OF WHITE STUDENTS IN THE SCHOOL OF A TYPICAL HISPANIC STUDENT, BY STATE, IN STATES WITH AT LEAST 5% HISPANIC STUDENTS

State	1984 Percentage Hispanic Enrollment	Percent of White Students in the School a Typical Hispanic Student 1970	1980	1986	Percentage Point Change 1970-1986
New Mexico	45.1	36.9	32.6	32.3	-4.6
Texas	32.5	31.1	27.7	26.9	-4.2
California	27.5	54.4	35.9	31.6	-22.8
Arizona	26.4	45.5	43.5	38.9	-6.6
Colorado	13.7	56.8	59.0	58.2	+1.4
New York	12.3	21.6	20.8	20.1	-1.5
New Jersey	10.7	38.2	29.6	29.5	-8.7
Florida	9.5	46.4	35.3	34.4	-12.0
Illinois	9.2	50.0	36.4	31.6	-18.4
Connecticut	8.9	47.8	37.9	34.3	-13.5
Nevada	7.5	83.7	75.3	70.4	-13.3
Massachusetts	6.0	*	52.6	47.5	
Wyoming	5.9	75.3	82.8	81.3	+6.0

*not available
Source: U.S. Department of Education data

The trends on Hispanic segregation in the states are negative with very few exceptions. The very rapid growth of Hispanic enrollment, the disproportionate concentration of Hispanic students in urban school districts with large minority enrollments, and the lack of any significant initiatives for desegregation in the areas where Hispanics are the dominant minority group all contribute to the pattern.

Asian Segregation

In striking contrast to the high segregation for blacks and the growing intensity of segregation for Hispanics, the most successful minority group in American education experiences little segregation. Except in Hawaii, where some Asian groups have higher socio-economic and educational status than whites and dominate local politics, Asian students rarely attend predominantly Asian schools. On average, Asian students are in schools with only about a fifth fellow Asians and a majority of whites. Asian students are typically in school with only about a fourth disadvantaged minorities (blacks and Hispanics) and about three-fourths whites and Asians. Even in California, the leading settlement area for Asians outside of Hawaii, the average Asian student was in a three-fourths non-Asian school.

Asian students come from considerably different backgrounds than black and Hispanic students. The 1965 Immigration Act required Asian immigrants to demonstrate that they had scarce skills or substantial capital; this requirement tended to produce a highly selective immigrant population. Consequently, theories that seek to explain the success of Asian students in U.S. schools focus on the high education level of many immigrant parents from some Asian countries and the cultural differences between Asian and American societies. These two differences -- parental background and the fact that Asian students are not in segregated schools or in schools where students of their language group dominate the student body -- deserve full investigation as factors contributing to their great educational success.

Trends in Metropolitan Areas

This report offers some important data on trends in segregation in selected metropolitan areas. In many areas the federal government does not collect sufficient data, particularly from suburban districts, to permit calculation of metropolitan area segregation trends. Since the government collects much more racial data on city than suburban districts, its data covers the black and Hispanic enrollment much more adequately than the white enrollment. Since the suburbs sampled may differ from year to year and the samples are drawn to project state rather than metropolitan totals, apparent changes in the patterns may be, partially, a result of the sampling procedures. The federal procedures produce much better coverage of metropolitan areas in the South than in other regions. The data are most reliable and consistent in cases where there are large county-wide school systems. This data, in other words, should be used with caution. It is reported here because only metropolitan area statistics reflect the larger urban communities that make up contemporary urban society and because there have been dramatic differences in metropolitan areas, related to their different desegregation plans, in earlier studies (Orfield, 1983; Orfield, Monfort, and George, 1987). The results have been remarkably consistent, in spite of data limitations from 1980-1986.

Metropolitan Segregation for Blacks. The Southern and Border states not only offer the best data on metropolitan segregation but also provide the best opportunity to consider the long-term effects of very different kinds of desegregation policies. The desegregation plans in place in Southern and Border states date to the 1971-72 period or even earlier in many cases. Thus we can see a plan operating after almost two decades. The plans range from neighborhood schools, to limited voluntary plans for part of a metropolitan area, to mandatory plans for central cities that do not affect suburbs, to the most extensive possible plans--plans which mandate racial balance in an entire metropolitan area, busing both city and suburban students from segregated residential areas to schools integrated by court orders.

TABLE 16

INTEGRATION LEVELS FOR BLACK AND HISPANIC STUDENTS IN LARGEST SURVEYED METROPOLITAN AREAS IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES, 1980 AND 1986

Metropolitan Area	Percentage of Whites in School Attended by Typical Black Student 1980	1986	Percentage of Whites in School Attended by Typical Hispanic Student 1980	1986
Louisville, Ky.	67.9	67.4	-	-
Tampa, Fla.	72.4	67.3	-	-
Wilmington, Del.	67.8	63.6	-	-
Nashville, Tn.	55.9	61.2	-	-
Greenville, S.C.	65.3	59.0	-	-
Greensboro, N.C.	60.1	56.6	-	-
Orlando, Fla.	53.6	51.6	-	73.1
Jacksonville, Fla.	49.7	47.2	-	-
Oklahoma City, Ok.	55.5	45.5	-	-
Norfolk, Va.	44.9	43.5	-	-
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	*	40.0	*	5.9
Little Rock, Ak.	49.9	39.4	-	-
Baton Rouge, La.	29.2	38.7	-	-
Austin, Tx.	45.0	37.8	46.1	42.9
Charleston, S.C.	34.1	37.2	-	-
West Palm Beach, Fla.	44.3	37.0	55.2	56.5
Augusta, Ga.	46.3	36.2	-	-
Shreveport, La.	30.5	36.0	-	-
Mobile, Al.	34.9	34.5	-	-
Columbia, S.C.	34.6	32.2	-	-
St. Louis, Mo.	*	30.9	*	-
El Paso, Tx.	?	?	17.3	15.2
Richmond, Va.	28.3	29.2	-	-
San Antonio, Tx.	27.0	28.3	20.8	18.3
Dallas, Tx.	*	25.2	*	35.5
Washington, D.C.	24.7	23.9	-	-
Atlanta, Ga.	22.3	21.6	-	-
Houston, Tx.	20.1	21.5	37.2	30.4
Baltimore, Md.	24.3	21.2	-	-
Memphis, Tenn.	20.8	20.6	-	-
Birmingham, Al.	24.1	20.6	-	-
New Orleans, La.	19.6	17.8	-	-
Miami, Fla.	17.9	15.1	24.4	19.4
McAllen, Tx.	?	9.4	7.1	5.3

? Less than 5 percent Hispanic enrollment
- Less than 5 percent Black enrollment
* Not available

Source: U.S. Department of Education data

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TABLE 17

CHANGES IN INTEGRATION LEVELS FOR BLACK AND HISPANIC STUDENTS IN THE LARGEST SURVEYED METROPOLITAN AREAS IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES, 1970-1980 AND 1980-1986

Metropolitan Area	Change in Percentage of Whites in School Attended by Typical Black Student		Change in Percentage of Whites in School Attended by Typical Hispanic Student	
	1970-80	1980-86	1970-80	1980-86
Louisville, Ky.	+43.0	-0.5	-	-
Tampa, Fla.	+36.8	-5.1	-	-
Wilmington, Del.	+35.5	-4.2	-	-
Nashville, Tn.	+18.8	+5.3	-	-
Greenville, S.C.	-5.1	-6.3	-	-
Greensboro, N.C.	+18.6	-3.5	-	-
Orlando, Fla.	+9.3	-2.0	-	*
Jacksonville, Fla.	+19.4	-2.5	-	-
Oklahoma City, Ok.	+33.1	-10.0	-	-
Norfolk, Va.	+11.1	-1.4	-	-
Little Rock, Ak.	+14.0	-10.5	-	-
Baton Rouge, La.	+2.6	+9.5	-	-
Austin, Tx.	+25.4	-7.2	+12.4	-3.2
Charleston, S.C.	+4.6	+3.1	-	-
West Palm Beach, Fla.	+11.6	-7.3	-7.1	+1.3
Augusta, Ga.	+9.7	-10.1	-	-
Shreveport, La.	+4.6	+5.5	-	-
Mobile, Al.	+5.9	-0.4	-	-
Columbia, S.C.	-4.9	-2.4	-	-
El Paso, Tx.	?	?	-3.2	-2.1
Richmond, Va.	-1.2	+0.9	-	-
San Antonio, Tx.	+4.7	+1.3	-0.9	-2.5
Washington, D.C.	-7.6	-0.8		
Atlanta, Ga.	-0.8	-0.7	-	-
Houston, Tx.	+0.9	+1.4	-8.4	-6.8
Baltimore, Md.	+5.4	-3.1	-	-
Memphis, Tenn.	+7.1	-0.2	-	-
Birmingham, Al.	+2.6	-3.5	-	-
New Orleans, La.	+2.4	-1.8	-	-
Miami, Fla.	-8.1	-2.8	-14.1	-5.0
McAllen, Tx.	?	*	-6.7	-1.8

The most integrated metropolitan areas in 1986 were Louisville, Tampa, Wilmington, Nashville, Greenville, S.C., and Greensboro, N.C. The list was almost identical in 1984. Each of these metropolitan areas has a long-standing mandatory metropolitan-wide desegregation plan. Two of the three most integrated metropolitan areas, Louisville and Wilmington, were integrated by merger and integration of previously separate city and suburban school districts after bitter controversy and widespread predictions that whites would abandon public education. Fourteen years later in Louisville and ten years later in Wilmington these areas retain extremely high levels of integration. In fact, the desegregation of those large areas made Delaware and Kentucky among the most integrated states in the U.S. for black students 3/17/89 9:23a (Table 18).

The most segregated metropolitan areas for black students (Table 19) include Miami, New Orleans, Birmingham, Memphis and Baltimore. None of these areas has a mandatory desegregation plan, except Miami, whose plan has "desegregated" some black students with Hispanics, not whites. Memphis substituted a voluntary plan for a previous mandatory plan. Each area has a large majority of "minorities" in the central city and none has desegregation across the city-suburban boundary lines.

TABLE 18

PERCENT OF WHITE STUDENTS IN SCHOOL OF TYPICAL BLACK STUDENT, MOST INTEGRATED AREAS, SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES, FALL 1986

Louisville, Ky.	67.4
Tampa, Fla.	67.3
Wilmington, Del.	63.6
Nashville, Tn.	61.2
Greenville, S.C.	59.0
Greensboro, N.C.	56.6

TABLE 19

PERCENT WHITE IN SCHOOL OF TYPICAL BLACK STUDENT IN MOST SEGREGATED AREAS, SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES WITH MORE THAN 5% BLACK ENROLLMENT, FALL 1986

Miami, Fla.	15.1
New Orleans, La.	17.8
Birmingham, Al.	20.6
Memphis, Tn.	20.6
Baltimore, Md.	21.2

The West is the other region in which it is possible to follow the changing patterns of segregation on a metropolitan area in a number of cases. With the exception of metropolitan Phoenix, where a new desegregation plan was implemented in one of the districts during the 1980s, all of the metropolitan areas experienced increasing segregation of blacks from 1980-1986. Metropolitan Los Angeles and San Francisco-Oakland, by far the most important centers of black population, were the most segregated in 1986 and far more segregated than many southern metropolitan areas with higher proportions of black residents. In Los Angeles there was a small increase in integration from 1970-1980, when the courts were requiring some mandatory desegregation, but the area moved backward in the 1980s after the courts ended the plan. Throughout the period, however, blacks were very highly segregated. The most integrated major city in the region was Las Vegas where the huge Clark County metropolitan school district operated a city-suburban desegregation plan, the only major metropolitan plan in the West. Both Denver and Seattle were able to maintain a high level of integration for black students under plans limited to their central cities.

TABLE 20

SEGREGATION OF BLACK STUDENTS IN
SELECTED WESTERN METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH
ENROLLMENTS OVER 50,000 AND MORE THAN
5 PERCENT BLACK, 1970, 1980, 1986

Metropolitan Area	% of Whites in Schools of Typical Black Student 1970	1980	1986	Percentage Point Change 1970-80	Percentage Point Change 1970-86
Los Angeles	13.7	16.1	14.1	+2.4	+0.4
San Francisco-Oakland	27.0	23.3	16.2	-3.7	-10.8
Fresno	29.9	35.8	31.6	+5.9	+1.7
Phoenix	29.1	36.3	44.5	+7.2	+15.4
San Diego	35.7	42.5	38.8	+6.8	+3.1
Sacramento	60.7	50.0	38.1	-10.7	-22.6
Denver	40.0	50.2	48.6	+10.1	+8.6
Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa	64.7	50.7	40.9	-14.0	-23.8
Seattle	52.3	56.5	53.9	+4.2	+1.6
Riverside	59.2	57.0	52.0	-2.2	-7.2
Colorado Springs	63.1	67.9	64.6	+4.8	+1.5
Las Vegas	53.5	68.0	64.9	+14.5	+11.4
Tacoma	77.1	71.6	69.3	-5.5	-7.8

Source: U.S. Department of Education data

TABLE 21

PERCENT WHITE IN THE SCHOOL OF THE TYPICAL BLACK STUDENT, FALL 1986

Metropolitan Area	
Cincinnati	31.8
Chicago	10.2
Cleveland	22.4
Columbus	51.1
Detroit	11.6
Indianapolis	58.2
Kansas City, Mo.	31.0
Milwaukee	33.4
Minneapolis	63.0
New York City	11.6
Newark	9.9
Philadelphia	18.0
St. Louis	30.9

TABLE 22

SEGREGATION OF HISPANIC STUDENTS IN SELECTED WESTERN METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH ENROLLMENTS OVER 50,000 AND MORE THAN 10 PERCENT HISPANIC STUDENTS, 1970, 1980, AND 1986

Metropolitan Area	% of Whites in Schools of Typical Hispanic Student 1970	1980	1986	Percentage Point Change 1970-80	Percentage Point Change 1970-86
Los Angeles	44.9	21.8	15.1	-23.1	-29.8
Albuquerque	39.2	36.3	38.0	-2.9	-1.2
Tucson	38.2	38.3	38.0	+0.1	-0.2
Fresno	49.0	39.3	37.5	-9.7	-11.5
San Francisco-Oakland	61.5	44.6	32.5	-16.9	-29.0
San Diego	67.4	45.2	41.8	-22.2	-25.6
Anaheim-Santa Ana-Garden Grove	72.8	48.7	33.7	-24.1	-39.1
Phoenix	50.8	50.1	46.5	-0.7	-4.3
Riverside	63.1	54.5	48.6	-8.6	-14.5
Denver	55.6	55.8	52.2	+0.2	-3.4
Sacramento	70.0	56.5	42.2	-13.5	-27.8
Modesto	78.5	62.0	69.8	-16.5	-8.7
Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa	78.5	66.8	58.0	-11.7	-20.5
Las Vegas	81.9	70.6	66.2	-11.3	-15.7
Colorado Springs	72.0	71.7	70.1	-0.3	-1.9
San Jose	*	*	34.3		

*not available
Source: U.S. Department of Education data

TABLE 23

PERCENT OF WHITE STUDENTS IN
SCHOOL OF TYPICAL HISPANIC
(Selected Metropolitan Areas)

Area	1980	1986	Change
Houston	37.2	30.4	-6.8
Miami	24.4	19.4	-5.0
San Antonio	20.8	18.3	-2.5
El Paso	17.3	15.6	-1.7
Austin	46.1	42.9	-3.2
Chicago	*	21.3	*
New York	*	12.9	*

*not available

Selected Northern Metropolitan Areas. The limited data available from Northern metropolitan areas (which are difficult to study because of their fragmentation into large numbers of small suburban school districts) shows several areas--metropolitan Newark, Chicago, Detroit, and New York City--with segregation higher than is found in any southern metropolitan area. On the other hand, there are several areas with high levels of integration. Minneapolis-St. Paul leads the list with the typical black student in a 63% white school in 1986. Minnesota is now debating a proposal from the State Department of Education for city-suburban voluntary exchanges as the Minneapolis system is projected to soon become majority nonwhite. Indianapolis has maintained a very high level of integration under its unique one-way busing plan, which sends black students to the suburbs but has no busing of whites into the city. Columbus has maintained a high level of integration almost a decade after the Supreme Court decision requiring integration there, the last major pronouncement of the Court on school desegregation law.

Two metropolitan areas on this list show some gains in integration since 1984. Philadelphia, has a small voluntary plan within the city and considerable black suburbanization. The change was very small and the level of segregation remained so high that the typical black student was still in a 82% minority school.

The level of change in the data for metropolitan St. Louis is far more impressive. In an area that had been among the nation's most segregated in 1980, the representation of whites in the school of the typical black student rose from 16% to 30.9%. This data suggests a substantial positive effect of the large city-suburban voluntary transfer plan which was in its third year of implementation when that data was collected.

Hispanic Segregation in Metropolitan Areas

The data for segregation of Hispanic students within metropolitan America in the 1980s is grim. For the areas with adequate data there is a clear pattern of growing segregation. Metropolitan New York, El Paso, San Antonio, Los Angeles, and Chicago--all areas with very large numbers of

Hispanics--lead the list of the most segregated areas. The largest Hispanic urban settlements tend to have levels of segregation comparable to the most segregated communities for black students. There are very large increases in segregation in booming Southern California communities where Hispanic enrollment is growing rapidly. In the Orange County area, a rich predominantly white suburban area, the typical Hispanic student was in a three-fourths white school in 1970, a 51% minority school in 1980, and a 64% minority school in 1986. In metropolitan San Diego the decline was from a 67% white school in 1970 to a 42% white school in 1986.

Among areas with substantial Hispanic populations, integration was highest in the metropolitan areas including Denver, Phoenix, and Austin, which have some form of desegregation plans. (The Austin plan has been dismantled in the early grades since this data was collected and the area's segregation is likely to rise significantly.) Sacramento still retains a substantial degree of integration but segregation increased more rapidly in the 1980s in that metropolitan area than in any other studied. The exception is the Orange County area just south of Los Angeles.

There are no signs of major increases in integration in any of the metropolitan areas studied in the 1980s. The growing proportion of Hispanic students in the schools and the continuing absence of major desegregation litigation suggest a future of continuingly increasing segregation. By the time Hispanic students become the largest minority in American schools, the existing trends strongly suggest that they will be the most segregated by a substantial margin.

Conclusions

School desegregation for black students remained relatively constant during the first six years of the 1980s in spite of the harsh attacks by the Reagan Administration and the widespread impression that the policy was being abandoned. Attitudes toward desegregation orders requiring busing became somewhat more positive during the 1980s and there was no widespread movement to dissolve desegregation plans even when the Justice Department offered to join the effort. The Justice Department, during this period, used the authority granted by the 1964 Civil Rights Act to bring school desegregation cases primarily to advocate limiting or ending desegregation orders. Few courts had responded affirmatively to those efforts by the 1986-87 school year. The Supreme Court decided no major school desegregation cases setting new rules of law during the 1980-1988 period. The broad governing legal principles were substantially unchanged since 1974.

The South remained the nation's most integrated region in 1986, showing the enduring consequences of the court orders and federal compliance plans of the late 1960s and early 1970s. There were clear signs, however, that the long-standing achievements in the South and in parts of the Border states were beginning to erode. This was particularly clear in the cases of Alabama and Mississippi which show major increases in segregation and have joined the list of the nation's most segregated states for black students. Other states, including Florida, are experiencing gradual declines in relatively high levels of integration, declines that may well reflect the failure of many districts in those states to update their desegregation plans in the past fifteen years as vast demographic changes have occurred. The evidence of a significant increase in integration in Missouri, on the other hand, shows the potential value of large-scale city-suburban voluntary exchanges of the sort developed in the metropolitan St. Louis consent agreement in the mid-1980s.

Black segregation at the state and metropolitan level is obviously related to the kind of desegregation plan that has been adopted. Differences in plans can have effects that last for many years. All of the most integrated metropolitan areas in the Southern and Border states have mandatory city-suburban busing plans. The same is true in the most integrated large metropolitan area in the West, Las Vegas, and the most integrated metropolitan area with a large black enrollment in the Midwest, Indianapolis. Even where the plan was implemented through a very explosive process of combining previously separate city and suburban districts and implementing mandatory two-way busing, the reductions in segregation are dramatic and lasting.

There is encouraging evidence that the largest experiment with voluntary city-suburban desegregation, in metropolitan St. Louis, did succeed in significantly reducing a very high level of black segregation in the mid-1980s. Those metropolitan areas which were most segregated either had no mandatory desegregation plans at all or plans limited to a largely minority central city school district. Only those central cities which still had large white enrollments and extensive desegregation plans produced substantial levels of integration for metropolitan area blacks without city-suburban transfers. In 1986, those examples included metropolitan Columbus and Minneapolis. One of the largest declines in metropolitan integration of blacks took place in the Oklahoma City area as the city district dismantled its desegregation plan in several elementary grades.

The trends in Hispanic segregation were almost uniformly negative. Hispanic students are becoming more highly segregated in virtually every part of the country and among each major subgroup. The data showed no recent initiative strong enough to overcome these negative trends on a metropolitan or state-wide basis although Hispanics in areas such as Denver and Austin which had mandatory desegregation plans that included Hispanics in 1986 were far less segregated than Hispanics in many other urban centers. Hispanic students are highly disadvantaged in U.S. schools. Their dropout rate is much higher in the mid-1980s, for example, than the black dropout rate. Studies of student achievement show

problems in segregated Hispanic schools very similar to those in segregated black schools (Espinosa and Ochoa, 1986; Digest of Education Statistics, 1988). It is urgent that very active investigation of these trends and exploration of policy alternatives take place so that the nation does not find itself with another set of deeply rooted problems like those that afflict public education in large American cities.

After a generation of negative national leadership on school desegregation, some modest positive initiatives from the federal government would be very helpful. A first step would be for the leadership to end its attacks on school desegregation and its efforts to dismantle plans that are stable. Civil rights enforcement authority should be used to extend rather than limit the civil rights of minority students. A program of federal desegregation assistance on the model of the Emergency School Aid Act which was repealed in 1981 would be highly beneficial. Federal research on effective school desegregation techniques should be resumed. Particular priority should be given to the largely unexplored issues of Hispanic segregation, multi-racial desegregation experiences, and the efficacy of voluntary city-suburban transfers. It would be a positive step for our national leadership to affirm the value of integrated education and to extend recognition to communities that have successfully achieved it.

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About the Council

The Council of Urban Boards of Education is a component of NSBA's Direct Affiliate Program. Individual school boards are eligible to participate in CUBE if they are a member of their state school boards association and they serve a community with a core city population of at least 100,000. The Council is governed by a Steering Committee composed of urban school board members from across the United States. This Steering Committee works to empower board members' effectiveness as policy makers in urban schools.

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